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The Sociological and Social-Psychological Functions of the Urban Protestant Church

Lois Chambers
Oberlin College

THE SOCIOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS OF THE URBAN PROTESTANT CHURCH

By
Lois Chambers
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PREFACE

Within the whole area of sociological investigation lie many problems for study, many fields in which the complex relationships between human beings create action patterns and institutions which lend themselves to scientific research. Among the fields of inquiry which challenge sociologists, the sociology of religion is one of the most interesting and significant; it is a field that includes many unanswered questions about formal and informal groupings. These questions have attained even greater importance in the twentieth century, as men in almost every branch of learning have turned to religion and its institutions in an attempt to find answers to the pressing problems of our day. Thus religions, and their institutional structures in society, have been both praised and blamed; in any event, they have been pointed out as immensely significant, either positively or negatively, in modern social relationships. The sociologist, therefore, in his attempt to understand man in social groupings, cannot avoid the challenge to his science in this particular area of human life. He must attempt to discover the sociological functions of religion and the church, to analyze the reciprocal relationships between religion, church, and society.

It is with this area of sociology that the study to

be reported in this thesis is concerned. The major purpose of the paper is, of course, to record the results of a very limited study of some of the functions of urban Protestant churches. However, in order that this particular study may be seen in proper context, it seems necessary to begin the report with a brief consideration of the general area of the sociology of religion, including major questions with which previous research and theories have been concerned, and significant trends in contemporary research in this area.

A further requirement for adequate reporting of a study such as this one seems to be a complete description of methods used in gathering and analyzing the material. It might appear to some that since results are what will be most important, methods of obtaining these results make no difference to the value of the conclusions. However, the results are actually of value only when seen in the context of the total field of research, the fundamental assumptions of the specific research reported, techniques used, and all changes in the ideas and methods of research which occurred as the researcher learned more about the subject. This particular study in itself may not produce any outstanding conclusions in regard to the sociology of religion. But its relation to other problems in the field, and the processes by which what information and insights it represents were collected and developed, should at least clarify one or two of the many

questions in the sociology of religion and should perhaps point to fruitful areas for further study.

Without the help of the members of the First Congregational and the First Presbyterian churches in Lorain, Ohio, this study could never have been completed; their cooperation and friendliness were of inestimable value. The writer would like especially to express her appreciation for all the assistance given her by Mr. Loomis and Miss Ewing of the Congregational Church, Mr. and Mrs. Thorne of the Presbyterian Church, and Miss Evans of Neighborhood House. The help, criticism, and encouragement given by Professor J. Milton Yinger throughout the process of research and writing were, of course, particularly valuable and deserve the writer's warmest thanks.

L.C.

CONTENTS

Part I

INTRODUCTION

Part II

REPORT OF A STUDY OF TWO PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN LORAIN, OHIO

Part I

INTRODUCTION

Chapter I

THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION: HISTORY AND CONTEMPORARY TRENDS

One fact stands out above all others in any consideration of the sociology of religion: that this is a comparatively new field for definite sociological research, identified as such. The sociology of religion is a young branch of study, probably having existed as an organized systematic discipline for no more than fifty years. Furthermore, its definition even now is complicated by the many levels of inquiry through which religion has been and is being approached. Religious group life can be examined by theologians, historians, philosophers, psychologists, anthropologists, and jurists; and each student may claim that his approach is the most adequate or proper one. Sociologists, however, maintain that religion "is a phase of culture,"[1] that religion and culture are inseparable. Therefore sociologists have become increasingly aware of the necessity for a social-scientific investigation of religion, in addition to the wealth of other investigations appropriate in this field.

There seems to be no definite agreement, even among contemporary sociologists, about what does comprise the

1. M. J. Williams, "Representative Sociological Contributions to Religion and Ethics," Contemporary Social Theory, eds. Barnes, Becker, and Becker (New York, 1940), p. 834.

sociology of religion or what its historical beginnings were. For the purposes of this paper, however, one definition or at least delimitation of the field must be selected in order that we may reach any clear understanding of it. Perhaps it should be pointed out here that probably any definition of the field will meet, among other things, the criticism that the student is predisposed to select one particular definition because of a personal bias regarding the nature of religion. From the point of view of a sociologist, however, the sociology of any particular area of social life — however the area's intrinsic nature may be conceived — must involve certain definite questions and certain scientific approaches to be made to the solution of those questions. Two major questions, therefore, may be identified as defining the scope of the sociology of religion — realizing, of course, that the borders between sociology and social psychology, for example, are not and need not be absolutely rigid. These questions are: What is the nature of the effect of cultural and societal forces on the origin and development of religious institutions and their associated beliefs and practices? And, what is the nature of the effect of religions on the cultures and societies in which they have developed? The study of religious groupings and religious expressions, based on these two questions and including the scientific aims of thereby understanding and

developing bases of prediction, constitutes the sociology of religion. In connection with this basic definition of the field, religion is defined objectively as that social and individual tendency, whatever its cause may be, which makes men seek to understand or feel secure in ignorance about the unknown or unexplainable in life, and which makes them seek to relate themselves to those things which they define as permanent, absolute, and valuable. The terms "religious institutions" and "religious expressions" will be used throughout this paper to refer to all those elements in society which are generally identified by the members of society as parts of religion.

With this idea of the sociology of religion in mind, we may now turn to a brief summary of the types of sociological studies, and the theories growing out of them, which have contributed to the development of this area of sociology. No attempt will be made here to trace the channels of intellectual history which led to the eventual clarification of the sociology of religion as a definite scientific discipline. For though social philosophers, like Saint-Simon or Comte, and the more recent thinkers in the social gospel school of religious philosophy have contributed much to the theoretical insights of sociologists, their work is so secondary to the sociology of religion as to be ignored here.

One of the first systematic studies falling within the framework of the sociology of religion was Max Weber's work on the relation between economics and religion. Weber puts his major emphasis on the second scientific question in the sociology of religion, asking: What is the nature of the effect of religions on the cultures and societies - in this case the economic systems of the societies - in which they have developed? In his book, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Weber tried to make quite clear that his purpose was to discover the relationship between the peculiar ethic of Calvinism and the spirit of Western capitalism, not to propound any unilateral theory of causation. He wished to have his study serve neither as a final proof of his hypothesis,[2] nor as the conclusion of an investigation rather than the preparation for many further studies. However, in this one very controversial piece of work, Weber did propound and attempt to support one major hypothesis. His theory was that the spirit of capitalism, with its basic social ethic of individual duty in a calling, derived its driving force or religious-ethical support from the peculiar development of the Christian ethic that occurred in Calvinism and other branches of Protestant Asceticism. He attempted to show a relationship, though not merely a unicausal tie,

2. Weber included this study of Calvinism in an extensive consideration of Oriental religions and economic systems.

between the religious and the economic ethics. In this attempt, he brought out some very interesting and valuable material regarding the economic system and religious development of post-Reformation Europe; and he contributed a study to the sociology of religion which, if it added no positive and valid theory, certainly stimulated a new interest in the questions of the religious impact on society and the impact of societal and cultural forces on religious development. Perhaps his very ignoring of the problem of social impact on religion, in presenting material so full of implicit questions regarding that side of the socio-religious interrelationship, meant that later students in the sociology of religion would be led to investigate and analyze that phase.

Another study in the sociology of religion, having a totally different emphasis from Weber's, was Emile Durkheim's work on the origins of religious life. Durkheim reported, in The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, his study of primitive religion and totemism, and he expounded his theory regarding the origin and nature of religious expression. Durkheim based his investigation on the sociological postulate that "a human institution cannot rest upon an error and a lie", that "the reasons with which the faithful justify them may be, and generally are, erroneous; but the true reasons do not cease to exist,

and it is the duty of science to discover them."[3] Durkheim's task was to explain the origins of religious life, to show how religion and its institutions were related to cultural and societal forces. In the course of his work, he developed several interesting sociological concepts and theories. His primary conclusion, based on a concentrated study of primitive totemism - which to him seemed the elementary form of religion -, was the theory that "religion is something eminently social,"[4] developing out of man's social relations and his sense of the peculiar power and significance of those relations. Religion, thus, was interpreted as "a system of ideas with which the individuals represent to themselves the society of which they are members."[5] Religion functions, moreover, in such a way that man may feel more secure in and adjusted to the forces of the society in which he lives, on which he depends. Durkheim, then, not only recognized and studied the effect of society and culture upon the development of religion, but he also attempted to show that the nature of group life itself had the effect of originally producing religion. Thus his work served to focus attention on the social influence on religious life, and though his conclusions may no longer be considered totally or even par-

3. Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (New York and London, 1915), pp. 2-3.

4. Ibid., p. 10.

5. Ibid., p. 225.

tially valid, his appraoch made a real impact on the sociological study of religion.

Ernst Troeltsch, in his monumental work, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, made a further and quite different contribution to the sociology of religion. Troeltsch, who was primarily a social philosopher and theologian, approached both major questions in the sociology of religion through collecting and analyzing a wealth of historical material regarding "the whole range of interacting factors," attempting to "discover the precise place of religious groups in the total setting."[6] In completing this task, Troeltsch made several significant contributions to the sociology of religion. First of all, he introduced two new concepts which are useful in understanding the dualistic tendencies of the social doctrines of the Christian Church. These were the two ideal-types: the Church-type produced by Christianity in its sociological process of self-development"[7]; and the sect. ". . Both types are a logical result of the Gospel, and only conjointly do they exhaust the whole range of its sociological influence . . "[8]

6. J. M. Yinger, "The Sociology of Religion of Ernst Troeltsch," An Introduction to the History of Sociology, ed. H. E. Barnes (Chicago, 1948), p. 310.

7. Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches (New York, 1931), p. 331.

8. Ibid., pp. 340-341.

Thus the church, as Troeltsch defined this concept, is the conservative organization which to some extent accepts the secular order; it becomes an integral part of the existing social order, stabalizing and determining it, yet also being dependent on its upper classes and upon their development. The church is universal in principle, in that it desires to cover the whole life of humanity; its essence lies in its objective, institutional character. The sect, on the other hand, is the comparatively small group, which renounces the idea of dominating the world and emphasizes the attainment of personal inward perfection and direct personal intra-group fellowship; it is associated with the lower classes or those classes which are opposed to the state and society. Thus the sect gains on the side of intensity in Christian life, but it loses the spirit of universalism.

Although Troeltsch's use of the church-sect concepts was primarily for historical analysis, the concepts do lend themselves to continued use as methodological tools for the sociology of religion. Furthermore, though Troeltsch's whole approach to his materials is conditioned by his fundamental idea that original Christianity did contain some peculiarly intrinsic character not to be understood in terms of social and cultural determinants, the data he collected constitute in themselves an immense contribution to the sociological study of religion. And Troeltsch's historical analysis of the interrelation-

ship between Christianity and society does have a great deal of value. If nothing more, he managed to handle a mass of complex data with the ever-present consciousness of interaction and continued interstimulation in development.

The works of Troeltsch, Weber, and Durkheim, then, exemplify three varying and important approaches within the sociology of religion as it was developing into a definite scientific discipline. Before we leave this consideration of the total field, however, it does seem advisable to summarize also several of the contemporary contributions of sociologists working in this area. Obviously, a complete treatment of contemporary trends would be both impossible and unnecessary in this particular paper. However, the theories and studies to be discussed in the following pages have been selected because they seem to present a rather complete summary of modern thought and work in the sociology of religion.

Perhaps it would be best to begin these summaries with a discussion of J. Milton Yinger's recent book, Religion in the Struggle for Power. In this work Dr. Yinger draws upon the contributions of both Troeltsch and Weber in an attempt to develop a conceptual framework which will be useful in interpreting, and therefore in making predictions about, the interrelations between religious social groupings and other elements in society.

Combining the results of several of his own empirical studies with the critical use of concepts and data taken from Troeltsch, Weber, and others, Yinger presents three major concepts in the course of his book. The first of these he calls the dilemma of the churches, defining it as that situation in which a religious group attempts "to keep in a position of power without sacrificing the goals for which the power was originally desired."[9] His second major concept refers to the different ways of attempting to solve this dilemma; thus the two main ideal-type reactions are produced: church and sect. These terms are used very similarly to the way in which Troeltsch used them, except that Yinger is more careful to point to their origin in the socially determined dilemma, not in any intrinsic quality in Christianity itself. The third basic concept, that of the social sources of denominationalism,[10] is used to explain why one group chooses compromise and another chooses withdrawal and radical challenge.

Having developed these three major concepts, Yinger illustrates them by applying them to various historical and contemporary situations in the social interaction between religion and other social forces. He uses them in

9. J. M. Yinger, Religion in the Struggle for Power (Durham, North Carolina, 1946), p. 18.

10. Concept discussed by H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York, 1929).

an analysis of the capitalism-Calvinism relationship suggested by Weber, showing how an understanding of the dilemma and of the ideal-type reactions will produce insight into the interaction between two major institutional changes in society. Thus Yinger starts with any church group in a particular economic setting and asks: Why did Calvinism result, and why did the economic system react as it did to the resultant church? Similarly, Yinger applies his concepts to an analysis of recent Christian social reform movements and of the the reaction of Christian churches to war. In all his considerations, he gives examples of the sect-church reactions to different social situations, and he shows how both types of religious groups can grow out of one another and yet again merge, depending upon the elements in the interacting situation.

A second contemporary study merits discussion here, because it not only represents a careful and systematic collection and interpretation of data regarding one phase of religion and social life, but also is a type of research which has special relevance for the study to be reported later in this paper. Liston Pope, theologian, social philosopher, and sociologist, reports in his book, Millhands and Preachers, the results of a study made of the churches in several mill communities of Gaston County in southern United States. The book is merely a summary of the work of countless sociologists, who studied various phases of the life of that county in order that a com-

prehensive picture and interpretation of the role of the church in economic society could be obtained. Pope takes these data, accumulated by himself and others, and uses them to test several hypotheses about the possible relation between religion and economic institutions. This relation might be, he states:[11]

A. in dynamic terms:

1. a source of economic changes

2. a product of prior economic changes

B. in static terms:

3. a sanction on the prevailing economic organization and economic culture

4. an antagonist to the prevailing economic organization and economic culture

C. in purposive-functional terms:

5. indifferent to the economic sphere as such

6. irrelevant to economic results, in the sense that no effective contact is established with economic realities.

Having listed these various hypotheses, Pope goes on to analyze the Gastonia situation in terms of them, following the history of the mill communities from their industrial origin, through a major economic crisis,[12] and up to the year 1937. An analysis of the role of the churches

11. Summary from Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven, 1942), pp. vii-viii.

12. A Communist-led strike occurred in one of the mills in 1929.

in the rise of the mills, and vice versa, showed that the churches were a source of economic change and a sanction of the resultant type economic institution, and that their role was partly a product of the economic change. Then Pope found that as the new economic system emerged, the churches increasingly reflected the rising class lines that were rooted primarily in difference in occupational status. Mill churches became more clearly separate from uptown churches. "Overtly, religion in mill churches appears to be indifferent to economic conditions; actually, it is in part a product of those conditions and, by diverting attention from them, is indirectly a sanction on them."[13] And the mill church functioned largely as an organization of life for the workers and as a transvaluation of life. The uptown churches, on the other hand, served as a sanction on prevailing economic conditions; they were symbols of respectability. Neither mill churches nor uptown churches, therefore, had any of the dynamic characteristics which might really appeal to the "disinherited" in the economy. And both types of church were increasingly controlled by the mills, both directly, through financial support, and indirectly, as one result of the ideological and social dominance of mill owners. Ministers in all the churches, too, failed to oppose any of the practices of the mill owners; their one thought was that the hope of a changed society lay in the pos-

13. Pope, op. cit., p. 91.

sibility, which they emphasized, of changing individuals. This was true even of the sect-type mill churches which grew up in answer to workers' needs that were not being met by the more established denominations; the sects merely served to substitute religious status for social status.

The characteristics of the Gastonia churches were brought into clear focus during and after the Loray Mill strike, in which questions of economic evils in the community were raised forcibly and unavoidably. During the strike only some few sect-type churches openly favored the strikers; these ministers were largely outside the economic and religious privileges of the community and therefore not so much "constrained by general culture".[14] Furthermore, after the strike most of the churches reasserted their influence and directed their efforts toward complete expulsion of Communists and their ideals. Thus the churches not only remained an indirect sanction of pre-strike economic conditions, but in fighting the Communists, they also came out as directly defending the existing economy.

Pope concludes his book with several statements summarizing the position of the churches in Gastonia. The relations between church and economy are, he says, largely symbiotic and reciprocal, in institutional growth,

14. Pope, op. cit., p. 278.

social control, and cultural defense. The economic factors more nearly shaped religious institutions, however, than were they shaped by them. "The churches have tended to pass from a dynamic force for social change to a static sanction of the change effected."[15]

Another quite different type of research within the sociology of religion is represented by the work of Malinowski, William Howells, adin, and other anthropologists. Being anthropologists, these men are concerned in their work in the sociology of religion with questions of the role of religion in primitive societies. The sociological problems with which they are dealing, however, are quite similar to the ones we have been discussing here. As an example of this phase of the sociology of religion, William Howells' work on the religions of primitive man has been selected for this paper. It is typical of contemporary anthropological research, which includes contributions to the social psychology as well as the sociology of religion. In The Heathens, Howells' purpose is to show, by comparing several different primitive societies, the different ways in which religious needs may be fulfilled. He uses primitive societies for his data, because he feels that Christianity or any other major religion is too big and too complex to be studied adequately in terms of the needs it fulfills.

15. Pope, op. cit., p. 334.

Thus Howells asks: What is the effect of social, economic, and cultural conditions on the development of religious institutions; what socially produced needs or societal functions do religious institutions fulfill? And for the answer to this question he turns to a number of primitive societies, to study their religion as interrelated with other societal forces.

Howells' primary emphasis is on the needs which social life, and human life itself, produce and which are met in varying ways by religious beliefs and practices. Thus witchcraft, magic, divination, and the more complicated beliefs and rituals of primitive religions are interpreted as an emotional release from the anxieties and frustrations of individual and group life. Religion assures security and regularity in society, it provides comforting patterns of behavior which help to coordinate community life and effort, and it gives usable explanations of the universe. Howells prefers to study religion by asking what it does rather than what it is or precisely how it originated; if its beliefs and practices are held to and supported by a society, and if they function for that society, then it is sufficient to fill the place which society made for it.

Howells' insights into the social-psychological functions of religion are quite similar to the theories of William James, philosopher-psychologist whose book, The Varieties of Religious Experience, has become almost a classic in the field. James' emphasis, in dealing with

questions of the functions of religion, was on the religious experience as expressed by individuals, not on the origin of religion or of the religious emotions. In studying the varieties of religious experience, James found that there may be many different types of religious expression, depending on the adequacy of different religions for the mental needs of the individuals. Referring to the early Protestant churches, he said: " The adequacy of their message to the mental needs of a large fraction of mankind is what gave force to those earlier gospels. Exactly the same adequacy holds in the case of the mind-cure message."[16] Elaborating this idea, James pointed to the varying individual thresholds for pain, fear, or misery; these differences, he said, lead to varying moods and varying religious needs. "Here is the core of the religious problem: Help! Help! No prophet can claim to bring a final message unless he says things that will have a sound of reality in the ears of victims (of social or personal evils). . But the deliverance must come in as strong a form as the complaint, if it is to take effect; and that seems a reason why the coarser religions, revivalistic, orgiastic, with blood and miracles and supernatural operations, may possibly never be displaced. Some constitutions need them too much."[17]

16. William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience (London, New York, Toronto, 1928), p. 108.

17. Ibid., p. 162.

Although this summary of James' work actually completes the outline discussion of the sociology of religion needed in this paper, there remains one contemporary student, thought to be in this field, who should be mentioned. Most people studying the sociology of religion come across the name of Harlan Paul Douglass, because his series of urban church studies comprises well over half of the objective material on contemporary religious institutions. Unfortunately, however, Douglass' work falls almost completely outside of the sociology of religion as a scientific discipline. Most of his studies fall within the definition of social surveys, for they are begun for the purpose of studying one social institution in order to discover means of improving its structure and its objective position in urban life. In his studies, he has collected a mass of data about the American urban Protestant churches which could be useful in a sociological research problem in the field. Statistics about church plants, memberships, and organizational structure are plentiful and probably accurately presented in all of his published work; but his analyses stop short of the scientific, because they almost completely ignore the questions of social and cultural interaction between religious institutions and other elements in society.

Now it seems that we are ready to leave this brief

introductory summary of the sociology of religion and move on into a consideration of the study which forms the central subject of this thesis. Against a background of the varying emphases within the sociology of religion, we can understand and evaluate more clearly the material and insights to be presented regarding a specific, and necessarily limited, phase of the total research picture.

Part II

REPORT OF A STUDY OF TWO PROTESTANT CHURCHES

IN

LORAIN, OHIO

Chapter II

SELECTION OF THE FIELD

Beginning with a general acquaintance with and interest in the whole field of the sociology of religion, a student's first task in attempting to make a contribution to that field is to delimit his area of research, to indicate the more specific questions with which he wishes to deal in his study. The major question for this thesis, then, is: What are the sociological and social-psychological functions of the urban Protestant church? In terms of the discussion of the sociology of religion in Chapter I of this paper, this question blocks out a specific area for research within the total field. First of all, it is concerned with the particular form which religion takes in the white urban Protestant church in the United States. Furthermore, it is more concerned with the effect of that church on its community and on its members, placing secondary emphasis on the effect of the community on the church. Finally, it opens up a social-psychological problem, the effect of the church on its own members, which has sociological implications but is primarily an analysis of religious functions for the individual. Further limitations on the scope of this study will be indicated in the course of the discussion to follow.

Once the questions to be handled have been chosen and

generally defined, the next step in a study of this kind is to select the area in which field work, the collection of data, is to be done. Due to the obvious limitations of time and finances, the possible fields for this project were three cities within reach of the student: Oberlin, Elyria, and Lorain. Oberlin itself was immediately rejected as a possibility, because it was considered not the typical urban environment, and because its churches reflect the intellectual and social forces peculiar to a small college town. The choice between Lorain and Elyria, then, was made rather arbitrarily, since either would have furnished equally interesting data for this study. So Lorain was selected as the research field, and the process of observing and collecting data was begun.

Chapter III

LORAIN OHIO: HISTORY AND PRESENT SALIENT FEATURES

Lorain is a modern commercial and industrial city, situated on the shore of Lake Erie at the mouth of the Black River. Its estimated population in 1949 was 58,000, a heterogeneous grouping comprised of many ethnic groups. About 76.1 % of the population are native white, 21.3% foreign-born white, and 2.6% Negro.[1] Present-day Lorain has been characterized as "a city of churches and schools, especially parochial schools, of foreign club houses, and of Americanization and other social settlement houses."[2] Thus it is somewhat typical of the medium-sized American industrial city, but it has more than the average percentage of foreign residents, drawn to it by the manufacturing industries and the trans-shipping lake trade which are its major economic functions.

The history of Lorain shows a pattern following rather closely the development of lake trading and railroad transportation through the middle west. After its small beginnings as a pioneer trading settlement in 1812, first incorporated as Charleston in 1832, Lorain followed

1. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population: Characteristics of the Population, Vol. II (Washington, 1943), p. 664.

2. R. B. Frost, "Lorain Ohio: A Study in Urban Growth", Ohio Journal of Science, Vol. XXXV, No. 3 (May, 1935), p. 173.

the ups and downs of the growing Western Reserve territory until the period after 1872, when the railroads brought to Lorain a regeneration of its urban functions. As Frost says, during the period from 1872 until 1892, there was a growth "not unlike a mild town boom."[3] From 1890 on, Lorain continued its industrial development and urban growth; seven-eighths of its present population has come to the city since that year.

Probably the major element in the growth of Lorain, after the initial stimulus furnished by the railroads, was the establishment of the Johnson Steel Company, forerunner of the present National Tube Company, in 1895. By 1901, the original Johnson plant had become part of the nationally expanded United States Steel Corporation. By 1901, too, the first labor union had been established in the city.

The industrial picture in Lorain at the present time is dominated by the huge plant and extensive operations of the National Tube Company, now the largest steel pipe mill in the world. National Tube employs about one-third of Lorain's adult working population. Its real estate valuation is twenty-eight per cent of the entire Lorain duplicate;[4] and its plant covers more than ninety-five

3. Frost, op. cit., p. 167.

4. Cleveland Plain Dealer, March 1, 1948.

per cent of the surface classified as heavy industrial land in the city. Other industries, of course, have grown up in Lorain and do maintain an important place in the economic landscape. Second in size among the heavy industries is the American Shipbuilding Company; third is the Thew Shovel Plant. And in addition to these heavy industries, Lorain boasts of twenty-four light industries, plus a relatively important commercial-retail trade.[5]

Probably because of its major importance in the Lorain industrial picture, the National Tube Company also extends its influence over many other aspects of the city's life. For example, eight out of ten city councilmen in 1948 were National Tube employees. The indirect effect of the company is felt, too, in the total economic life of the city. Thus grocery stores and other retail establishments flourish on Mill pay days. And when the Mill is shut down, as it was during the six-week strike in the Fall of 1949, the whole city evidences the depressing effects of the economic tie-up. Social and cultural groupings, too, revolve around the three-shift schedule at the Mill. Life in its many phases is so closely related to the National Tube Company that no analysis of Lorain could be complete without emphasis on the pervading influence of the Mill.

5. See Appendix B for an itemized listing of Lorain's industries and labor force.

Even community social problems seem often to be directly related to the dominant position of the steel mill. Since the beginning of wartime industrial expansion in 1941, the influx of unskilled laborers coming to work in Lorain has created many problems. Housing was deplorably inadequate, schools were overcrowded, and sanitation, health, and morals in the city were extremely bad. Intra-group tensions, now seeming to center chiefly in the Mexican-Puerto-Rican mill community of South Lorain, gave city welfare services and private settlement houses more problems than could be handled adequately.

Lorain is a city of many resources and many problems. Situated at a focal point in the Great Lakes industrial region, it is still growing,[6] and with that growth new problems develop. Such is the city, then, in which this church study was centered; and the data which we will be considering in the following chapters must be understood partially in terms of the setting which has been briefly outlined here.

6. National Tube has had a $75,000,000 expansion program underway since 1946; it is due for completion this year. Lorain Journal, December 31, 1949.

Chapter IV

SELECTION OF CHURCHES TO BE STUDIED[1]

The choice of churches to be used in this study depended primarily on two requirements: finding two groups differing sufficiently to yield a contrast in social classes and general urban type; and feasability of securing the necessary information from the members. In order to meet the first requirement, it seemed advisable to select one group which would be relatively typical of the large middle and upper-middle class churches in downtown Lorain. In selecting the second church, there were then several alternatives. Either a neighborhood church in any residential area of the city or one of the nationality churches in South Lorain could have been chosen.

According to this plan, contacts were made through the Methodist and Congregational ministers in Oberlin with the ministers of two large churches in central Lorain. The minister and his assistant in the First Congregational Church were interviewed first; that organization seemed to fulfill the requirements so well, and its staff members were so interested and ready to cooperate with the study, that it was chosen without further investigation. Finding the second church, however, presented more of a problem. It seemed advisable

1. See Appendix B for a listing of the religious affiliations of the Lorain population.

to choose a church constituted largely of middle and lower class participants,[2] and from investigation it turned out that most of the lower class churches are located in South Lorain in neighborhoods adjacent to the National Tube plant. Further investigation[3] showed that there were only two churches in South Lorain which would give a sufficient contrast in socio-economic position and also fulfill the second general requirement of availability of material. In all other churches, the memberships are so predominantly of some foreign-language group that adequate collection of data from all the members would have been impossible. Therefore the selection was narrowed down to a choice between the two South Lorain churches in which English was spoken by most members: the First Presbyterian Church, and the Hungarian Evangelical and Reformed Church.

After preliminary interviews with the minister of the Hungarian Church, it was finally decided that several additional complications would be added to the study by using it as the contrasting church. The major difficulty seemed to lie in the introduction of many factors of cultural difference in addition to the socio-economic and situational differences involved. Therefore, at the

2. Class is defined here in rather general terms of residence, education, and occupational status.

3. Interviews with Miss Sina Evans of Neighborhood House and Mr. Loomis of the Congregational Church.

expense of sacrificing a possibly more acute socio-economic contrast, the Presbyterian Church was selected as the second group for this study.

It seems advisable now to discuss briefly the organization and structure of the two churches, so that we may have a better background for analyzing the specific results of the research process. The Congregational Church was one of the first churches established in the city of Lorain, since many of the first immigrants to the Western Reserve territory came from New England Congregational backgrounds. In 1872, the first Congregational church was organized, only about thirty years after the first religious meeting house had been established in the city. The original church building was destroyed by a tornado in 1924, and the present building was dedicated in 1926. By 1945, the mortgage had been liquidated, and church membership had reached a yearly average of about seven hundred persons.[4] Many of the present members of the church are proud descendants of Lorain's pioneer families. The prestige associated with such traditional ties, and the position of this church as one of the oldest in Lorain, seem important in establishing its high social standing. Possessing such a tradition, and being so centrally located in a large

4. Membership now is about five hundred families, a total which includes 825 persons.

and well-equipped church building, the Congregational Church seems to be one of Lorain's leading Protestant churches. It was interesting to note, in the course of studying this church, how many of its members and even the members of the Presbyterian Church referred to the First Congregational Church as "the" church or the "really high class church" of Lorain. This judgment was reiterated by the Congregational minister, too, who pointed out that his church includes on its rolls a disproportionate share of community social and industrial leaders. For example, the chairmen of Red Cross drives for the past three years, the retired and present superintendants of schools, the chairman of the local Republican Committee, and countless members of Red Cross, Community Chest, and Community Concert boards are members of this church. The church is also well represented in the Rotary Club and the local Chamber of Commerce.[5]

A second characteristic which should furnish valuable information regarding the general position of the church, aside from its apparent social standing, is its location and the spread of its membership. The church building is situated near the "Loop" or center of the business section. It is a large building, equipped with offices, meeting and recreation rooms, and a gymnasium, in addition to the sanctuary. Located as it is, however, the

5. See the map on page 32 for distribution of members in graded residential areas.

church is not by any means a neighborhood church. Its membership is spread over the entire city, with a preponderance of numbers along the lake front, both east and west, and in the west central section; only about twenty families (approximately 4% of the membership) live in South Lorain.

In a church of this size and of such a widespread membership, the activities of the staff and subsidiary organizations are in general more far-reaching and important in the total church life than are the weekly Sunday morning services. Therefore, some acquaintance with these secondary functions is necessary for an understanding of the church itself. The staff of the Congregational Church consists of two paid full-time workers: the minister, Mr. Herbert F. Loomis, and the church assistant, Miss Margaret Ewing. Both Mr. Loomis and Miss Ewing spend some time each day in the church office and visit members in the afternoons. Miss Ewing, a trained social worker, also conducts Junior Church on Sunday mornings and supervises the program of the Junior High and High School youth groups. According to Miss Ewing, the Junior High group, meeting on Saturday nights, draws in many non-church-members who live in the neighborhood. Thus it furnishes group recreation for about forty young people, most of whom come from lower-middle and lower class homes. The other church groups, however, with the exception of Scout groups, are comprised mainly of church members.

In addition to the subsidiary activities, including four Women's Association circles, a Mothers' Club, a Sewing Circle, the Fellowship Supper Club, the Men's Club, and the choir,[6] the church also has a Board of Trustees and Boards of Deacons and Deaconesses. The members of these boards serve in advisory capacities in the functioning of the church. The deacons and deaconesses also are supposed to assist the paid staff in contacting members; each deacon or deaconess has a list of members to be visited. Judging from the members who were interviewed, however, it seems that most active visiting is done only by Mr. Loomis and Miss Ewing.

The Presbyterian Church may now be contrasted to the Congregational Church in several important ways. First of all, the Presbyterian Church has a shorter history as an established group in Lorain. The congregation was organized in 1900 by thirty-eight members who had migrated to the Western Reserve country from steel mills in Pennsylvania. The present church building was completed in 1903. Since then the church has grown from its original membership of thirty-eight to a present total of 523 members. A small percentage of its members are old Lorain families, though apparently not nearly so many as are found in the Congregational Church. From observation and conversations with Lorain residents, it would seem

6. See Appendix C for a listing and description of these groups.

that any prestige which might be associated with this church originates largely from its position as the only Presbyterian Church in Lorain. About fifty per cent of its members live in South Lorain; similarly, about fifty per cent of the employed members are listed as National Tube employees. According to an estimate made by Mr. Thorne, pastor of the church, over half the members would be classified as skilled or unskilled workers. A similar estimate, made by Mr. Loomis regarding his church, places well over half of the members of his church in managerial, professional, or other high status jobs. Taking into account the location of the church and the occupational and residential spread of its members[7], it would be justifiable to assume that the Presbyterian is primarily a middle and lower class church, more neighborhood centered than the Congregational. The class contrast between the two churches would perhaps be best described on a continuum from lower to upper class.[8] Thus, though the two congregations are not entirely dissimilar in class makeup, they do differ in the number of members tending more to one end or to the other of the continuum.

A second contrast between the churches studied lies in the differences between staffs and extent of subsidiary activity. Mr. Philip Thorne, minister of the Presbyterian

7. See map on page 36 for residential spread of members.

8. See Figure I, p. 37.

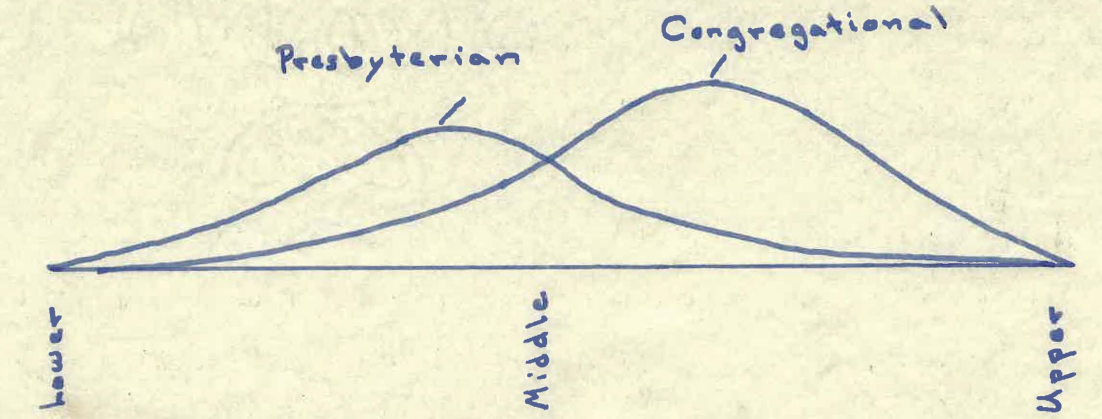


Figure I. Class Continuum

Church, is the only paid staff member. His work includes general visiting and counselling with members, plus the routine tasks of church leadership. The organizations of the church, too, are less numerous than in the Congregational Church. They include the Women's Association, Fellowship Club, World Service group, Sunday School, two Sunday evening youth groups, a Boy Scout troop, and the choir, plus the two church governing bodies, the Session and the Deacon-Trustees.[9] One very good reason for the lack of more active groups in the church is the difficulty of carrying on planned programs when over half the members work on varying-shift schedules. The poorer building facilities of the church also add to the difficulties. The same difficulties with working members

9. See Appendix C for a listing and description of these groups.

apply to attempts to have full attendance at Sunday morning services. Even with these difficulties, however, the Presbyterian Church seems to be more worship-service centered than is the Congregational. In fact, the Congregational Church is noted, with its members and with other Lorain residents, for its poor Sunday attendance.

Before closing this consideration of the general characteristics of the two churches studied, some attention should be given to the inter-church contacts of both groups. The Protestant churches of Lorain have two organizations with which most groups, including the two churches studied, are affiliated. The Lorain Church Federation, organized in 1941, is an affiliate of the Federal Council of Churches. It functions through three departments: Christian education, union services, and social action. The only reference to it which was filed in the Lorain Public Library was a newspaper note that it had sponsored an Institute of International Relations in 1948. The second inter-church group, in which Congregational leaders have been active, is the Lorain Christian Council, formed in 1935 and chaired for at least five terms after that year by a leading Congregational layman. A third inter-church group in Lorain is the Lorain Ministerial Association, founded before 1910. A newspaper note describes it as a group established principally for professional fellowship, "unswerving in its championing of better living -- religious, social, and

economic -- . .."[10] Among the activities of this group have been the sponsoring of union church events, active attacks on state liquor laws, and support of such programs as the 1939 federal housing project. The Association itself is an independent body, whose members have no power to act for their churches.

The information considered in the preceeding paragraphs of this chapter should furnish some background for the material to be discussed in Chapter VII of this paper. When added to the more specific data derived from interviews with church members, this information should help us to understand the organizational and social context in which the members function. And perhaps when seen in the light of this general information, the material obtained through closer contacts with church members will be more meaningful and clear.

10. Lorain Journal, July 26, 1939.

Chapter V

SPECIFIC HYPOTHESES DEVELOPED BEFORE AND DURING RESEARCH

Before beginning the discussion of research and results in the study of the churches just described, two tasks remain to be done. In this chapter, we will consider briefly the questions asked regarding these two churches at the beginning of the study, the hypotheses first developed, and those hypotheses which came out as the study progressed. These hypotheses should not only prove interesting to us now, but they should also be useful in understanding the material collected, just as they were helpful during the research process. For hypotheses are not merely statements to be found true or false; they are more important as guideposts or points of reference in a study involving a large amount of apparently unconnected data. Moreover, they are cumulative; one rich hypothesis will lead to many more questions and ideas in the course of its testing.

Perhaps the most fruitful way to discuss these hypotheses is to start out with the preliminary, rather general questions from which they stemmed. When the project was begun, certain questions seemed to force their way out of the social-institutional situation which was to be studied. They were, briefly:

Do these churches, the Presbyterian and the Congre-

gational, offer central or auxiliary social groupings for their members? That is, do the church contacts play the most important part in the social lives of their members; do they have "top priority"; or are they secondary to the non-church groups to which the individual members belong?

Do the churches include in their memberships a large share of community leaders?

Do the churches act institutionally to sanction prevailing social and economic conditions in the community, are they indifferent to these conditions, or are they antagonistic toward them? In this question is visualized a continuum from sanctioning to indifference to antagonism, with the possibility that the churches might lie anywhere along the line.

Do the churches serve different functions for different members, or are their functions for all members quite similar and narrowly defined?

Are the church leaders likely to be leaders in non-church groups, and vice versa?

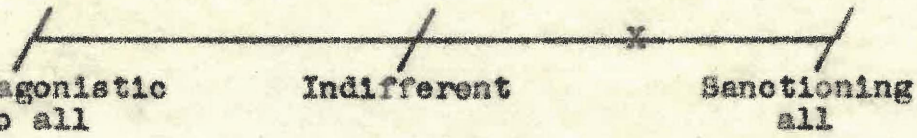
Are the churches instigators of most social reforms taking place in the community or usually only supporters of the reforms which are begun by other groups?

Do more women than men attend and take an active

part in church, and if so, why?

From these questions, certain preliminary hypotheses were developed:

1. The South Lorain Presbyterian Church offers more "central" social groupings for its members than does the downtown Congregational; in the downtown church, church activities are usually quite secondary to non-church activities.
2. Leaders in the church are more likely to be community leaders than are the general memberships.
3. Both churches tend to sanction prevailing social and economic conditions in the community, appearing on the continuum as:



4. Both churches tend to be supporters rather than instigators of social reforms.
5. The Presbyterian Church would be more aware of economic problems and its activities more relevant to the social and economic results than the Congregational Church.
6. Both churches serve different functions for different members.
7. The Congregational Church is important as a status-giving organization.

8. More women than men attend regularly, because more women need the social and emotional outlets and support of the church program.

Once these hypotheses had crystallized, the study was begun. In the course of the study, however, several additional hypotheses were developed as the attitudes of church members furnished new insights into the functioning of the churches. Many of these new hypotheses served merely to break down the original hypotheses into more specific statements. Following is the list of additions as it stood before the final assembling and analyzing of material was begun:

1. The functions of the churches may be divided into two major categories: functions for active members, and functions for relatively inactive members.
2. For inactive members, the most important function of the church is its maintaining of a habit pattern surrounded by certain value judgments.
3. For active members, the most important function of the church is its service as an emotional outlet and source of personal security.
4. For the community, the church's main function is representing but not clarifying or fighting for certain values associated with Christianity: the good, the stable, etc.

5. Men, if active, are more definite and clear in their reasons for activity than are women.
6. The personality of the minister is a factor of major importance in determining how significant the church is to its members.

This completes our consideration of the hypotheses which were tested in the study to be reported. In the next chapter, we will discuss the methods used in order to test the validity of these hypotheses and to analyze, in a limited manner, the social and social-psychological significance of the urban Protestant church. The hypotheses listed in this chapter will be referred to and discussed in more detail when we reach the point of discussing the process and results of the research project itself.

Chapter VI

METHODOLOGY

The research methods which were used in this study were of three main types: interview, questionnaire, and general observation and investigation. Most important of these was the interviewing, which was done first and by which most of the information was obtained.

The interview technique was selected as the major method for this study, because through using it data could be gained about the members of the churches which would not have been available in any records and could not have been acquired adequately through the use of questionnaires alone. In each interview, the attempt was made to get information about the life and occupation of the interviewee, his activities in and out of the church, and his attitudes toward religion, the church, and the place of the church in modern social life. The first step in getting ready for these interviews was the preparation of an interview schedule, including on it questions which would bring out all the desired information.[1] Copies of this schedule were prepared, so that the results of each interview could be recorded on a uniform blank as soon as the interview had been completed.

Next it was necessary to get a random sample of the

1. A copy of this schedule is included in Appendix D.

membership of each church. In both churches, directories of the complete memberships were available; and in both cases the ministers were cooperative in pointing out a leadership list to be sampled in addition to the general list of total memberships. By taking every tenth name (or two names in the case of husband and wife), beginning with a number selected at random, seventy-two persons were selected from the Congregational Church and forty-two from the Presbyterian. These two samples each represented about eight per cent of the total church membership. The samples paralleled very closely the total memberships in terms of sex percentages. The Congregational sample was 60% women and 40% men (whole church: 59% women, 41% men), and the Presbyterian sample was 57% women and 43% men (whole church: 59% women and 41% men).

The actual interviewing was begun in the Congregational Church. At first it seemed advisable to contact each interviewee personally at his home, in order to insure against refusals due to telephoning confusion or lack of rapport. This method had to be abandoned, however, because the time spent in trying to find people at home meant many wasted hours in an already tight schedule. Telephoning for appointments, once it was tried, seemed nearly as satisfactory.

During the interview itself, the first necessity was to establish maximum rapport in a short time. This was

done by explaining the purpose of the interview and emphasizing the importance of getting assistance from each person in the sample. An additional help in the Congregational Church was the use of an introductory letter furnished by the minister, asking for each member's cooperation. In general, however, the interviewees were very cooperative; some were especially interested in the study and anxious to help.

The attempt was made to complete each interview within a half-hour limit, and in most cases this was possible. If the interviewee seemed particularly willing and anxious to talk, however, the interview was extended; much valuable information was gained through informal chatting after the schedule of questions had been completed. In all cases, a minimum of notes was taken during the interview, and the report of the interview was filled out immediately after the interview was over. Probably the greatest difficulty encountered in most interviews lay not in the interviewee's unwillingness to talk about his religion, but rather in his lack of definite opinions regarding religion and the church or his inability to verbalize on an abstract level.

The returns from the interviewing process were high enough to render the data useful, but they were not as high as might have been hoped. The major difficulty with getting returns seemed to lie in the interviewer's lack of time for following up reluctant contacts, and in

the inaccessibility of many persons on the samples. In the Congregational Church, forty-seven interviews were completed in a total sample of seventy-two persons (a 65% return). The completed interviews included thirty women and seventeen men (64% women, 36% men). Among the interviews not gained, eleven persons were inaccessible (no bus transportation to their homes), six refused to be interviewed at all, six were unavailable because of busy schedules (in spite of the interviewer's repeated attempts to make contacts), and two were never located because of change of address.

Of the Presbyterian Church sample, only twenty-four out of forty-two proposed interviews were completed (57% return); the completed sample included seventeen women and only seven men (71% women, 29% men). Among the interviews not gained, four persons were inaccessible, six failed to meet appointments and were not available again, two were not contacted because of work and no telephone, three were unavailable because of family troubles, and three refused the interview after repeated attempts to postpone it.

In evaluating the interview technique as used in this study, two questions seem to point up the major values and disadvantages of the method. First of all, did the use of the interview technique facilitate the collection of data in a way that no other technique would

have done? The answer to this question seems to be positive, with some reservations. Through the interviews, certain objective data about the members were obtained quickly and easily, and much insight into attitudes was gained. Furthermore, since most of the interviews took place in the homes of the interviewees and in relatively informal circumstances, much valuable secondary information was made available through observation during the interview process. Where answers to questions on the schedule were not clear or were not expressed readily, further discussion could produce further information.

A second question to be asked in evaluating this technique is: Did the interviewer make maximum use of the possible values of this method? The answer here would have to negative, for although the interviews did yield much extremely valuable information, more could have been gained if more interviews could have been completed. In many cases, more intensive follow-up of the unavailable or reluctant interviewee would have resulted in another completed interview. For example, the low percentage of returns on the men in the Presbyterian Church sample could have been raised if re-appointments had been made when the interviewee didn't appear for the first one. Working on full schedules as they were, most of the men contacted who failed to keep appointments did so because of sudden changes in plans; they probably

would have been willing to try another contact. The limitations on the interviewer's time, however, made such an intensive follow-up practically impossible; it seems that nothing is more difficult and time-consuming than continued attempts to see someone who does not particularly want to be seen.

After the interviewing had been completed, to the extent that time allowed, it seemed advisable to make some check on both the sampling and the method used for interviews. Therefore it was decided that questionnaires should be prepared for mailing to another sample of each congregation. These questionnaires included most of the questions that had been used in the interviews; but of course the more abstract questions had either to be omitted or to be put into more objective form. Several hundred copies of these questionnaires, and of a covering letter, were mimeographed and sent out to the new samples.[2] These new samples were selected at random by the same method as had been used for the interview samples. Using the directories, every sixth name (or two names in the case of husband and wife) was selected. This yielded two samples, 133 names from the Congregational Church and 88 from the Presbyterian (16% of the membership of each church). The questionnaires were mailed, with a covering letter and an enclosed return envelope, to the 221 persons on the list. The return on these

2. See sample copies, Appendix D.

questionnaires was unexpectedly high. From the Congregational sample, 59 were returned (43%); and from the Presbyterian, 36 were returned (41%).[3] No check on the distribution of the returns was possible, since the questionnaires were anonymous.

The value of the questionnaires, when used in conjunction with the interviews, seems considerable. They do give a check on the results of the interviewing, and they also furnish additional information about a much larger percentage of the church memberships. The more specific results obtained by using both these methods will be discussed in the following chapter.

The final research method used in this study, general observation and investigation, was largely an addition to the more formal techniques of interviewing. The student attempted to make all possible observations about residential areas, general attitudes, and emotional responses that were possible in the course of travelling over Lorain for the interviews. Discussions with the staffs of the two churches, and the use of available church records, also added to the fund of available information. These observations will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

3. Post cards were sent out to all the persons on the samples about ten days after the original mailing, reminding them to return the questionnaires.

Chapter VII

RESULTS OF RESEARCH: DISCUSSION[1]

In the preceeding chapters, an attempt has been made to clarify the setting and background for this discussion of the results of research on the two churches described. Now we are ready to consider the data which were gathered regarding the churches and their functions for members and for the community. Probably the best way to begin this discussion is to study one by one the hypotheses listed in Chapter V. These hypotheses both developed out of the research and played a major part in determining the course of that research; thus most of the valuable data to be presented here is particluarly relevant to one or the other of these hypotheses.

The first preliminary hypothesis was that the Presbyterian Church offers more central social groupings for its members than does the Congregational Church. Data to test this hypothesis should have been obtained from questions in the interviews dealing with relative importance in a member's life of the church and other activities. After several interviews had been completed, however, it seemed clear that such a distinction was difficult for most interviewees to make, and the data on activities in and out of the church neither supported nor refuted the hypothesis.

1. See Appendix E for tabulations and statistical results.

Only ten people in the Congregational sample and thirteen in the Presbyterian indicated that many or most of their social friends had been or are members of their own church. This does not give much support to the first hypothesis, but it does indicate that probably neither church is very important for the close or "central" social contacts of its members.

In order to test the second hypothesis, that leaders in the church are more likely to be community leaders than are the general memberships, a statistical check was made, covering all the interviews and questionnaires. Church leadership was defined as membership on the Church Cabinet o f the Congregational Church, which includes all organization officers and members of the Boards of Trustees, Deacons, and Deaconesses; the term was used to include similar members in the Presbyterian Church. Community leadership was defined as membership in three or more community organizations (including lodges, councils, and social, educational, and professional clubs), and/or office-holding in one or more groups (not including offices in small social clubs). From the Congregational sample, including 105 responses, a correlation of .59 was found between the two characteristics, church leadership and community leadership. This figure, even after the application of two standard errors (.06), seems significant enough to warrant the conclusion that in general, leaders in church tend to be community leaders also.

Perhaps the statement made by one interviewee might point to one of the factors in this relationship. A leader in several community groups, including the Chamber of Commerce and the Rotary Club, stated that he started out in various groups because of particular interest or accidental contact, did well with minor responsibilities, and so became a man on whom the groups called for major tasks. A second church and community leader pointed out that he had found much the same conditions in his rise to importance. He enjoyed doing work and doing it well, and he felt that contributing to many types of organizations gave him a chance to spread his influence over various types of people in his community. These two factors, ability and interest, seem to be major factors in leadership in both church and non-church groups.

In the Presbyterian sample, a less imposing correlation (.35) was found between leadership in church and in community organizations. The figure is still significant, however, even after the application of two standard errors (standard error: .12). Perhaps the difference between the two churches is due partly to the smaller number of community leaders in the Presbyterian sample; there are 16 in the latter sample, as compared to 36 in the Congregational group. (Group totals: Congregational, 105; Presbyterian, 63.)

In both churches, general inspection of the reports of active church members (those participating quite regu-

larly in one or more groups) showed that almost all were also active in community groups. The majority of non-active church members were also non-active in community organizations.

A check on the third preliminary hypothesis, that both churches tend to sanction prevailing social and economic conditions in the community, was difficult to obtain directly from data collected in this study. Although questions on attitudes toward church stands and action regarding social, political, and economic problems were included, the results showed the members' attitudes toward the churches' place in community life, rather than their own stands regarding local, national, and international conditions. Certainly we may conclude, however, that the churches' position as expressed by their members must lie somewhere between indifference to and complete sanctioning of prevailing conditions, regardless of the members' individual attitudes on these issues. If members' unwillingness to have the church take stands or definite action on political, social, or economic problems is any indication of the churches' position, then both the Presbyterian and the Congregational Church may be considered indifferent to or indirectly sanctioning the prevailing conditions. The only question on which a majority of the church members felt that stands and/or action could be taken by a church was that of direct

community "moral problems"; such things as juvenile delinquency, housing, and the liquor problem. Seventy-two out of 106 in the Congregational Church and forty-four out of sixty in the Presbyterian favored church stands in this area, while thirty-two in the Congregational and seventeen in the Presbyterian favored action in addition to the stands. The only other question on which the members of both churches expressed some interest in taking stands and some action was the question regarding international relations. The answers were quite well divided, however, between favoring and opposing stands, and very few favored action. Therefore, no definite conclusion is forthcoming. On the two questions involving political and economic stands, the weight of opinion for both churches showed a reluctance for the church to express itself on these issues. Thus a total of sixty-five answers in both churches favored stands, while 200 opposed stands on these two issues.

We might tentatively conclude, on the basis of this evidence, that in both churches the members tend to believe that church stands and action in regard to prevailing conditions should be limited to the more obvious "moral" problems of the local community; and only a minority of members in both churches favor action on even these issues. Two different reasons, suggested by materials gained in interviewing, might be proposed for this tendency. The first, expressed many times by inter-

viewees, is the belief that the church should act through its individual members, relying on instilling into them Christian principles which will lead them to make the right choices in community action. This reason would have further evidence in the great majority of positive answers to the question: Should sermons deal with the Bible and personal religion and also with present-day social, political, and economic problems? Seventy-six out of 106 in the Congregational Church and Forty-three out of sixty-one in the Presbyterian Church answered this question affirmatively. Thus they believed that the church should not ignore modern problems, but that it should rely on the individual decisions and actions regarding them for any proposed changes.

A second reason, expressed less often in interviews and questionnaires but still possibly valid, is the attitude that the church, being a religious organization, cannot possibly know and therefore has no business being involved in the issues of politics and economics. As one interviewee put it:[2]

> "Preachers are very impractical, they can't tie the two together; they don't know our side of the street, the economic and political fields, at all. When a preacher talks on the day-to-day life of the workingman, he gets out of bounds."

The fourth hypothesis, that both churches tend to be supporters rather than instigators of social reforms,

2. Quoted from the statement of a man interviewed in the Presbyterian Church who ranks very high in Lorain managerial circles.

gains its supporting evidence from two sources. First of all, the same tendencies discussed in connection with the third hypothesis would apply here. Thus, if the churches are composed of members who tend to believe in individual rather than group stands and action, and who would agree to church stands only on a few obvious community problems, then it is apparent that the churches would not be equipped to instigate social reforms. In fact, it is even doubtful that they would support these reforms, unless they fell within the definition of local "moral" problems.

The second source of evidence in support of this hypothesis is the available records in the files of the Lorain Journal and Cleveland Plain Dealer. Inspection of clippings from these newspapers for the past twenty years showed that the Lorain churches had not once instigated a social reform movement. They had once urged the passage of a housing bill, and they had been active in support of changed liquor laws, but no evidence points to their having actively originated any reform movement. An example of this is found in a series of articles appearing in the Journal and Plain Dealer during the Spring of 1948. Several articles in both papers discuss the increasing problems which have been created by the influx of mill labor coming to Lorain since 1941. Inadequate housing; low standards of sanitation, health, and morals in the city; and a poor police force were some of the

problems indicated. One Plain Dealer article quotes a police detective sergeant's statement that churches, fraternal bodies, and welfare organizations neglected the immigrants and the difficulties connected with their arrival.[3] A second Plain Dealer article reports the establishment of the Council of Lorain Veterans Organizations for Community Improvement. This group was formed in 1947 for the purpose of improving city standards "in step with great strides in population."[4] The article concludes with the statement that the Council had persuaded employers to get religious preferences of incoming laborers, so that this information could be turned over to the Lorain Ministerial Association for use in the reform program.

Testing the fifth hypothesis with the available data was also very difficult. From the answers to questions concerning stands and action on economic problems, members of both churches seemed equally as disinterested in church action. Correlations between occupational status and attitudes in both churches and in the churches taken separately yielded no results significant for this hypothesis. No questions were asked directly to determine the degree of awareness of economic problems. Certainly the evidence regarding action on economic issues would in-

3. Cleveland Plain Dealer, February 28, 1948.

4. Ibid., March 1, 1948.

dicate that neither church makes any direct moves that would be relevant to economic or social results.

The fifth preliminary hypothesis states that both churches serve different functions for different members. Supporting evidence for this hypothesis comes from both the interviews and the questionnaires. In most interviews, answers to the question about why people should go to church included the interviewee's personal reasons for belonging and attending. Among the varying reasons given were:

> "People need the spiritual guidance and teachings found in a church; they also should support the church financially."
>
> "People should attend church because of the good people met there, and for the spiritual uplift gained through attendance."
>
> "People should attend church and support the church, because it is the church's business to make the world better and people better. It is the thing to do, a good habit."
>
> "It is very important to make social contacts through the church and to have the church on your side as a recommend. It's the thing to do, like having good credit."

A complete tabulation of the reasons for going to church showed that most could be classified under ten main headings. These reasons, of course, are not necessarily the underlying reasons for church-going, but they do give some indication to the scientist of possible underlying attitudes and needs. The reasons given are:

1. The church is the only hope for lasting peace in the world.
2. Church-going is a way to help in community im-

provement through supporting a good institution.

3. Church-going sets a good example for children and for others.
4. The minister and staff of the church must be supported in their good work, or else the church and what it stands for would die.
5. Religious teaching is needed for help and inspiration in daily life.
6. Church-going gives one confidence, security, and a sense of peace.
7. Good people are met through the church.
8. Religion never hurt anyone; it has an undefinable value.
9. Church-going is in accord with God's will.
10. The church stands for the good, the high, and the noble in life.

Each of these reasons was given at least once on questionnaires or in interviews; the two most often given, either alone or with others, were numbers five and six. The evidence, then, points to the conclusion that the churches do serve different functions for different members, that each member may have a different complex of reasons for belonging to and attending a church.

The only evidence to show that the Congregational Church is more important as a status-giving group than is the Presbyterian is the material gathered concerning general attitudes regarding the social standing of each church.

Such material, however, does not bear directly on this hypothesis, and no other direct tests seemed possible in this study.

The last preliminary hypothesis suggests that women attend church more regularly than men, because more women need the social and emotional outlets of the church program. It would be impossible to substantiate this hypothesis fully without knowing the personal needs of each church member. Some evidence in support of this hypothesis was obtained, however, in this study. First of all, a fairly significant correlation was found between being a woman and giving certain reasons for going to church. Using reason six for church attendance, a correlation of .35 was found between being a woman and giving this reason for attending. Further support for this hypothesis is found in the larger percentage of women than men who are active in the social groupings of the churches : women's associations, fellowships, etc.

The hypotheses developed as the study proceeded[5] were even more difficult to check than were the preliminary hypotheses just discussed. The first, suggesting that the functions of the churches may be divided into two major categories, for active and relatively inactive members, is not substantiated by any of the existing material. Data on reasons for attending church were

5. These hypotheses are listed on pp. 43-44.

checked, but the variation in these reasons had no apparent relationship to this hypothesis. This same lack of evidence pertains to the discussion of the second and the third hypothesis in this revised list.

The fourth hypothesis developed during the course of the research states that the church's main function for the community is in representing but not clarifying or fighting for certain values associated with Christianity. Evidence in support of this hypothesis comes from two major sources. We have already discovered that both churches tend to avoid direct stands and action on local community problems, with the exception of those few problems which stand out as relatively obvious and non-controversial. This would point to the tentative conclusion that the churches themselves do not try to fight for or even to clarify for the community at large the Christian values as related to most issues. In the course of interviewing, moreover, it became increasingly apparent that the church does stand for rather undefined values for its members. Again and again in interviews an interviewee would state that he went to church because it is a "good" institution, represents"the better things of life", is the "one stabalizing element" in a community and world gone wrong. It was the interviewer's strong impression that most of the interviewees were not only unable to verbalize clearly their attitudes about the purpose of the church, but that actually they had no clear

idea of why the church was supposed to be so good. In the listing of reasons given for attending church, thirty persons out of the 130 responding gave as one reason the good example church attendance was for children and non-church-members; eleven listed support of a good institution, which would die without support; and fifteen included the undefinable value of the church: its representing the good, the high, or the elevating. Thus more than one-third of the respondants definitely verbalized this belief that the church does stand for the good in society; yet only one or two of all those contacted gave any further definition of what the good might be. Although this evidence is by no means conclusive, it does suggest that this hypothesis has some value.

Hypothesis five, that men are more articulate in their reasons for activity than are women, was not substantiated by any evidence.

The final hypothesis developed before tabulation was begun stated that the personality of the minister is a factor of major significance in determining how important the church is to its members. Again, no conclusive evidence was obtained in support of this hypothesis. From interviews, however, a tendency was recognized in some members to allow their personal feelings about the minister to affect their interest in the church as a whole. In one group, about twelve members who were interviewed said that they would take more active part in the

church if they did not dislike the minister. Several questionnaires and interviews indicated, too, that the personal warmth of the minister was an important factor in the person's feeling at ease or ill at ease in the church group. This would be a difficult hypothesis to test fully, but the material gathered in this study at least indicates that it might be a source of some interesting conclusions.

At this point it seems advisable to summarize the results of the study as related to the hypotheses discussed thus far. The following hypotheses, as originally stated or as revised in this discussion, were supported, at least in part, by the data collected in this study:

1. Neither church is very important for the close or "central" social contacts of its members. This might indicate that church groupings, in general, are not primarily social organizations, since members seem to find their major social contacts elsewhere.
2. Church leaders tend, in general, also to be leaders in non-church organizations. This might indicate that the qualities necessary for leadership are independent of specific elements in the church or non-church groups, that leadership is based more on personality factors such as interest and ability in organizational activity. It might also suggest that church groups tend to

select community leaders as their leaders because of the general social status these individuals represent. In Liston Pope's study of Gastonia, for example, the churches were found to conform to community standards even in their patterns of influence and control.

3. Degree of activity in and out of church seems to depend on personality or status factors independent of specific religious-group characteristics. Thus most members are relatively inactive in both church and community groups or relatively active in both.

4. The churches, by their reluctance to take stands and/or act on local, national, or international issues in general, tend either to be indifferent to those issues or to sanction indirectly prevailing conditions. This tendency seems similar to the conclusion suggested in the Pope study of Gastonia, that churches in general sanction directly of indirectly the prevailing economic conditions. It also evidences the dilemma of the churches suggested by J. Milton Yinger; for members of the two Lorain churches pointed emphatically to the impossibility of acting on or even taking stands regarding any but the most non-controversial issues, because of the danger of losing many members who disagree on

the issues. It further exemplifies Pope's statement that churches put most faith in the possibility of influencing individuals and through them influencing general social conditions.

5. The churches, when they do come out for some social reform, tend to be supporters rather than instigators of the movement.
6. The churches serve many different functions for their different members; they provide: social outlets; support, confidence, and security; new inspiration for daily life; sense of connection with a good institution; and training for children.
7. Women show more tendency to attend church for emotional and social outlets and support than do men.
8. The personality of the minister may be a major factor in determining the importance of the church for its members. (The evidence supporting this hypothesis indicates only that it might be a fruitful guide for further study.)

This completes our consideration of the hypotheses developed before and during the course of research in this study. Several further questions were raised, however, as the data collected were tabulated and prepared for statistical treatment.

One of the first points noted in the course of

statistical treatment was the discrepancy between results of questionnaires and interviews. In both churches, the data on church attendance, reasons for attending, activities, and group membership seemed relatively parallel for both questionnaires and interviews. In the answers to questions regarding church stands, however, the questionnaires tended slightly toward more liberal or "socio-religious" attitudes. The question responses were divided into two groups: those answering questions on economic and political stands negatively, and those answering one or both of these questions positively in a total of three or more positive responses. The first group was called non-socio-religious, a poor term chosen to indicate briefly the tendency toward limiting the churches' activity to questions of personal ethics and primary group relations. The second group was called socio-religious. Correlating the methods used for gathering data with the frequency of responses in these two groups, a correlation of -.19 (with a standard error of .08) was obtained between interviews and socio-religious responses. Although not a very significant correlation, this does indicate a slight probability that the questionnaire method yielded more socio-religious responses than did the interview method. Furthermore, tabulation of responses to each question on interviews and questionnaires showed that the questionnaires yielded proportionally many more positive answers to the questions on community social

problems and international relations than did the interviews -- a greater difference than showed up in the statistical test in which question responses were grouped.

The reason for this difference in responses gained by the two methods has not been determined. There are several possible answers which might be suggested, however:

1. In the interview process, answers to the four questions on church stands and action were more carefully considered and represented more deeply rooted attitudes than those which were evidenced on the check-response questionnaires. The interviewer was able to determine more accurately just what the interviewee's real attitude was.
2. The interview responses were conditioned by the interviewee's lack of anonymity; therefore expressed attitudes tended to conform more to the expected American norm of separation of religion from secular life.
3. The questionnaire responses represented a non-random sample; somehow the selective return factors were related to attitude differences.

Keeping in mind this difference in questionnaire and interview responses, we may now consider the various tests which were made on the tabulated data. The following possible relationships were tested statistically, using the formula for r_4, the modified Pearsonian coef-

ficient of correlation, adapted to use with dichotomous variables:

1. Church and Attitudes:

   No significant correlation was found between specific church membership and attitudes. The questionnaires showed a -.14 correlation (standard error: .11) between being Presbyterian and holding socio-religious attitudes, and the interviews showed a .21 correlation (standard error: .13). The discrepancy between the two techniques used appeared here. At any rate, neither correlation is significant, nor is the .003 correlation obtained by using all results from each church. Thus we may assume, on the basis of this evidence, that the class, location, and denominational differences between these two churches are not reflected in these particular attitudes of the members.

2. Sex and Attitudes:

   For both churches, the interview results showed significant correlations between being male and holding more socio-religious attitudes. The questionnaires in both cases, however, showed no significant correlation. Using all the materials together, a possibly significant correlation of .16 was obtained. Thus it may be that men tend to favor a more active relationship between religion and general social

affairs than do women. This tendency, however, should not be taken too seriously until some check is made on the method discrepancy noted, and until other variables, such as age, may be taken into account.

3. Age and Attitude:

No significant correlation was found for either church, using the questionnaire returns separately or together with the interview returns, between age and attitude.

4. Occupation and Attitude:

No significant correlation was found between these two elements in either church, except when the Congregational Church were used alone. Here, a correlation of .36 (standard error: .14) was obtained. Thus we may have some indication of the validity of the hypothesis that persons in managerial or professional occupations tend to hold more socio-religious vie s than do persons in other occupations. However, since all other results were so divergent, a much more complete and well-controlled study would have to be carried out before this conclusion could stand as even tentative.

Statistical treatment was also proposed for testing the hypothesis that older tend more than younger people to go to church for gaining security and confidence.

After a preliminary tabulation and inspection, however, this test was eliminated, since there seemed to be no consistent relationship between the variables.

From the tabulation of data regarding church attendance and activity in church and non-church groups, no significant hypotheses arose. The only information that might merit passing note is that the Congregational Church has a higher proportion of members active in more than two non-church groups. This might be an indication of the higher class level of the Congregational Church. Data on reasons for joining the particular church, family church background, and degree of activity in the church seemed so widely distributed over the possibilities that no hypotheses were forthcoming.

One final hypothesis, suggested during the course of reviewing material gained in the interviews, has important implications regarding the class status of both churches. Those persons who are not members of the majority class group of each church are not, as a rule, active or at ease in those church groups. The evidence supporting this hypothesis comes largely from the interviews, although there is also some evidence for it in the questionnaire material.

Of those persons interviewed in the Congregational sample, only nineteen are in occupational statuses other than the professional or managerial categories. Of these,

only seven are at all active in the church; and four of these seven are members of old families in the church. Five of the twelve who are not at all active expressed explicitly their feelings of not belonging. One woman, wife of a pipe cutter in the steel mill, said she wondered if the church was a high class church. "I think maybe it caters to business people; and when people have money, they change, and the church changes too." Another woman, who is a divorcee with four small children, living on relief, said she didn't know anyone in the church and so felt out of place. And a man, a mill worker who once was active in the church, said he "never felt one of the group," although they were all nice people. The other seven inactive members also said that they knew few people in the church and/or lived too far away from it; several of them worked on shifts and couldn't go.

Fifteen of those returning questionnaires also fall into the lower occupational statuses. Of them, nine were almost completely inactive, and only six were active members of the church and its groups. Here, reasons were not stated, so the evidence is of less value.

In the Presbyterian Church, a similar check was made on the activity and expressed feelings of members of the upper occupational groupings. Eight of those interviewed are in the managerial or professional groups. Three of these eight are active members, and all three of them became members years before when they lived in

South Lorain. Of the five who were not active, only two expressed explicitly the opinion that the church group was not congenial to them. The other three said only that they were too busy and more interested in other groups. Of the members answering questionnaires, eight are in professional or managerial jobs. Three of them are relatively inactive, and five are quite active in the church.

Although this evidence is not conclusive, it does indicate that there is a possibility that members of the non-majority class in the churches do not feel at ease in the groups. The evidence is especially strong in the Congregational Church, where five persons openly admitted to an unknown interviewer that they felt this lack of belonging with the people in their church. A final bit of supporting evidence for this hypothesis came from the president of the Congregational Fellowship Supper Club. He pointed out that this club, the most active social organization of the church, is made up almost exclusively of professional persons and those in the upper ranks of business.

The significance of this hypothesis lies in its implications regarding the social-institutional characteristics of religious bodies. Religious groups, apparently, are not so different from other social groupings that they cut across class and status lines. In the processes of interaction within a church, there are to be found much

the same tendencies as are found in the social interactions of non-religious groups.

Before closing this discussion of results and hypotheses, some mention is appropriate of the attitudes of the ministers whose jobs involve working with and leading the groups whose characteristics have been described here. In an interview with the minister of one church, several interesting bits of relevant information were obtained. This minister stated his conviction that his major task in the church is to act as an educator. "A minister," he said, "must lead the members from where they are toward the Christian ideal. Therefore he must be careful not to antagonize. The social relevance of Christianity should not be soft-pedalled, but decisions and action within the church must be carried out largely on an individual basis. The important work of the church is not done with the mass, but with individuals or small groups of individuals. . . The church as a whole must keep proclaiming the general Christian ideal." This statement clearly evidences the minister's consciousness of the dilemma which faces him in his work. His answer to the dilemma appears to be an attempt to cut around the group dilemma by influencing individuals.

The second minister said much the same thing in a similar interview. Pointing out that his denomination had recently placed renewed emphasis on personal salvation and assistance to individuals in the church, he

emphasized that the church's main task is to bring help to its members, "to minister to its members in all their needs," in order to bring about changes in those individual members.

Both ministers, then, seem to see very clearly the position of their churches in the community. One puts major emphasis on achieving maximum social action possible in the context, while the other emphasizes building stable and secure Christians. The general impression given the interviewer by members of both churches suggested this difference in approach to identical problems.

This completes our consideration of the insights stemming from the study of the two churches in Lorain. The following chapter will give a concluding summary of these results and their significance.

Chapter VIII

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

The best way to conclude this consideration of the Lorain church study reported in this thesis seems to be to list briefly the sociological and social-psychological insights or conclusions reached, and to point out their relation to other studies and their significance in the total context of the sociology of religion.

The major hypotheses developed and having some indications of validity can be included, summarily, in the following statements:

> The churches, as social institutions, have two major sociological implications for the community in which they function: They represent for the community certain general and relatively undefined Christian values or ideals; and by not clarifying or fighting for these values as related to specific issues, they are indifferent to the problems represented and thus are indirectly sanctioning prevailing conditions in the community, nation, and world. These two implications may be partially understood in terms of two of the concepts suggested by Yinger: The churches face the dilemma of the churches, and both select a church-type reaction to that dilemma. It must be pointed out that full sociological implications of the churches

were not uncovered in this study and therefore are not indicated here. A complete follow-up on members' activities in community life, and the relation of these activities to the efforts made by the churches, would be necessary. A fuller check on the work of youth and adult organizations in the church would also be necessitated.

The churches, as social institutions, exemplify several general social-interactional tendencies in their internal structures: The leadership and degree of activity of the individual church members seem to depend depend on the general features of personality and intra-group dynamics which are present in any religious or non-religious grouping. The internal makeup of the churches also seems to reflect the general sociological and social-psychological consequences of social and occupational stratification in the community.

The churches serve several social-psychological functions for their members. Apparently they are not primarily or exclusively social groups, in the sense of primary interpersonal contacts between members. They seem to meet other personal needs, which might be met by other social groupings, through their programs and through the values they

emphasize. These needs may be different for different members, and they are met in varying ways. Among the social-psychological functions which the churches serve for their members, meeting the need for security and confidence seems to be of prime importance, especially for the women of the churches. Social-recreational outlets are also furnished, however, as well as religious education and available connection with those things considered valuable by the society. This internal functioning of the churches for their members is directly related to the theories proposed by such men as William Howells and William James. We have seen in this study the apparent validity of the theories that people may differ in social and emotional insecurities and needs, and that religion as represented by these churches functions in varying ways to meet those needs.

It is obvious from the summary of work done in this study that many questions have been left unanswered and that even those conclusions which have been tentatively reached are by no means definite or final. Furthermore, it must be remembered that this study relates only to established Protestant churches in a particular urban setting; therefore, the conclusions cannot be assumed to

apply, even as incompletely as these do here, to other religious groups in other settings. A further limitation on the validity of this study is the unexplained discrepancy between returns on questionnaires and on interviews.

In spite of these limitations, however, the results of this study have some value for the sociology of religion, if only by furnishing several tenable hypotheses for further work in the field. In a research area as large and as relatively untouched as the sociology of religion, the work of countless students will be needed before many valid conclusions may be reached.

APPENDIX

Appendix A

EXPLANATORY NOTE ON ORIGIN OF AUTHOR'S INTEREST IN THIS SUBJECT

Although tt does not seem necessary to include this in the body of this paper, there should be some mention made here of the way in which the sociology of religion happened to be selected as the subject area for this paper. It also seems advisable to discuss briefly the author's own personal bias regarding the sociology of religion and the definition of religion and religious institutions, at least in so far as this bias might affect the contents of this thesis.

My interest in the sociology of religion probably stems from a background of close connection with the work of many religious institutions and from the many questions which I asked about the reasons for the action patterns I saw being continued in these church groups. I wanted to know why religious groups functioned as they did in relation to their stated basic ideals; I wondered what the churches actually did in society as I saw it, and why. With this interest growing daily, I began to study the sociology and social psychology of religious groups; and I found first of all that the amount of literature in both fields was pitifully small, considering the importance which is attached to religion and its institutions. Therefore, when the opportunity came to

me to devote a concentrated effort to studying some phase of sociology, I chose the sociology of religion as the field in which my major interest lay and in which I felt much could be done in many ways.

As a guide to those readers who might be wondering what my definition of religion is, I will try to restate it here. I would define religion much as I have done in this paper, as that social or individual tendency, whatever its cause may be or may be thought to be, which makes men seek to relate themselves to those things in life which they define as permanent, absolute, and valuable; it makes them seek to understand or feel secure in ignorance about the unknown and unexplainable in life. Religious institutions are defined in terms of what men call religion and of what they identify as religious institutions and expressions. For personal reasons, I would add to these definitions my own bias regarding the nature and origin of religion; that it originates socially out of the fear or insecurity regarding the unknown in life, that it has no non-human, intrinsic quality related to a supernatural being, power, or entity.

Appendix B

I. Data on Lorain employed population[1]:

In labor force, 1940:	18,416
Professional workers	805
Semi-professional workers	144
Farmers and farm managers	8
Proprietors, managers, officials, except farm	1,098
Clerical, sales, etc.	2,484
Craftsmen, foremen, etc.	3,250
Operatives, etc.	3,810
Domestic service	420
Service, except domestic	922
Farm laborers and foremen	17
Farm laborers (unpaid family)	0
Laborers, except farm	2,391
Occupation not reported	93
(In iron and steel manufacturing	6,844)

II. Data on Lorain Population[2]:

Total native, all races	34,702
Total foreign-born	9,423
Percentage native white	76.1%
Percentage foreign-born	21.3%
Percentage Negro	2.6%
Total population, 1940:	44,125

The city population in 1949, according to an estimate made by Sale Management of the Chamber of Commerce, was 58,000, showing a 30% increase since the population listing in 1940.

1. U. S. Census, op. cit., p. 680.

2. Ibid., pp. 604 and 664.

III. Data on Lorain churches:

According to a survey made by fourteen Lorain churches in the Spring of 1950, 60-70% of the 40,000 persons contacted (60% coverage) acknowledged at least nominal relationship to the Roman Catholic Church. Nearly 100% of all persons contacted acknowledged some connection to some church.[3]

Directory of Lorain Churches:[4]

Denomination	Number of Churches
Baptist	8
Catholic	15
Church of Christ	1
Church of Christ, Scientist	1
Community	1
Congregational	1
Disciples of Christ	1
Episcopal	1
Evangelical United Brethren	2
Evangelical and Reformed	2
Gospel Tabernacle	1
Jewish	1
Lutheran	5
Methodist	7
Nazarene	1
Non-denominational	2
Orthodox	5
Presbyterian	1
Salvation Army	1
Pentecostal	2
Restored Gospel	1

3. This information was furnished by Mr. Thorne of the Presbyterian Church, who took a leading part in the survey.

4. Lorain Journal, May 15, 1948.

Appendix C

I. Subsidiary organizations in the First Congregational Church:[5]

Leadership Organizations:

Board of Trustees — nine members

Boards of Deaconesses and Deacons — twenty-one members
The deaconesses and deacons assist the staff in visiting members. The deaconesses act as hostesses on Sunday mornings; they are in charge of the communion equipment.

Ushers — twenty-two men

Active Groups (Adult):

Women's Association
This group includes automatically each woman member of the church. At its monthly meetings the average attendance is from thirty to fifty. There are four circles related to the Association, having about sixty to seventy members in all. The Association's program includes general meetings with speakers, and projects to raise money for the church. Last year the Association raised $300 for missions, $500 for parsonage remodelling, and $100 for general church expenses.
The four circles meet once monthly for worship, social functions, and work on money-raising.

Sewing Circle
This group is composed of from thirty to thirty-five active members, most of them older women who have been in the church and in this club for years. It meets twice monthly, and its main purpose is social, with some work on money-raising.

Mothers' Club
This group has from fifteen to twenty-five members.

5. The information listed here was received from Mr. Loomis, the minister, and from various remarks made by interviewees.

It meets twice monthly, mainly for social gatherings. The members of the club are now older women, who were original members and just stayed with it through the years.

Fellowship Club

This club has a membership total of about eighty-five members; usual attendance at its monthly dinner meetings is about 100. The club was originally formed for social gatherings in the young, twenty-to-thirty age group. Now, however, it includes members from twenty-five on up to fifty or sixty. According to its president, the membership is largely composed of teachers and professional people; very few members are National Tube employees. The present program of the club is three-fold: entertainment, education, and money-raising. It is definitely the most active group in the church.

Men's Class and Club

These two groups are supposed to be two branches of one men's group; actually, the club is the active one of the two. The average attendance at club meetings is about sixty-five, varying from 40 to 125 depending on the program. At the monthly dinner meetings, speakers, forums, and discussions deal with such subjects as politics, economics, and religion. The original purpose of the class and club was to provide a "man's men's" group for discussion of relations between religion and daily life. Speakers last Fall included a minister, a world traveller, a religious layman, and such men as Grove Patterson and Senator Robert Taft.

Choir

Social Action Committee

<u>Youth Groups</u>:

High School Group	about twelve members
Junior High Group	about 40 members
Sunday School	attendance 180-210
Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, Cub Scouts	
Youth Choirs	25 members in each of two choirs

II. Subsidiary organizations in the First Presbyterian Church:[6]

Leadership Organizations:

The Session	twelve members
Deacon-Trustees	twelve members

Active Groups (Adult):

Women's Association
All the women of the church automatically belong to this group. It used to be divided into circles, but because of small membership in the circles, all were disbanded recently. According to one member of the group, only about sixty to seventy women are now contributing members, and of them only about half attend each meeting. The purpose of the club is three-fold; activites are social, educational, or for raising funds.

Business Women' Club

World Service Group
A mission study group.

Fellowship Club
This club is purely social; it is not too large but does carry out an active social program for young adults.

Choir

Youth Groups:

T.N.T.
High school young people, meeting Sunday evenings.

Westminster
Sunday evening group for post-high-school youth.

Boy Scouts

6. Complete information on these groups is lacking, because the minister left for a month's vacation just before the study was completed.

Appendix D

The following five pages are sample copies of the interview schedules, questionnaires, and covering letter for the questionnaires.

In connection with the mailing of the questionnaires, a sideline study of response percentages was made. To half of the covering letters sent out to each church group the note shown on the sample copy was added; the other 50% included only written names and signature. In order to check on possible differential returns, a different address (street number instead of house name) was used on the return envelopes enclosed with the letters which included the additional note. No significant differential was noted in the return, however.

Interview Schedule - Presbyterian

I. Name: Address:

Occupation: Mate's:

Children:

Age: Education:

II. Church Background:

Church-going family? What church?

When joined Presbyterian? This church?

Do children attend here? If not, where?

Comments:

III. Church Activities:

Group	Active	Office	Year
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

How often attend church? Other meetings?

Comments:

IV. Non-church Activities:

Group	Active	Year
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

Interview Schedule - Congregational

I. Name: Address:

Occupation: Mate's:

Children:

Age: Education:

II. Church Background:

Church-going family? This church?

When joined Congregational? This church?

Do children attend here? If not, where?

Comments:

III. Church Activities:

Group	Active	Office	Year
1.			
2.			
3.			

How often attend church? Other meetings?

Comments:

IV. Non-church Activities:

Group	Active	Year
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

General Comments:

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LORAIN CHURCH STUDY

April, 1950

What is your occupation? _____

Your husband's or wife's occupation? _____

How many children do you have? _____ Your age? _____

What church did your family attend? _____

If not Presbyterian, when did you join the Presbyterian? _____

Reasons for joining: (Check one or more.)

In neighborhood _____ Church doctrines _____

Husband's or wife's church _____ Friends in church _____

Liked minister _____

Other _____

Do your children and your husband or wife attend this church? Yes _____
No _____

If not, where? _____

Of what groups in the church are you a member? _____;

_____; _____.

How often do you attend church? _____

Weekly _____ Twice monthly _____ Once monthly _____

Seldom _____ Never _____

How often do you attend group meetings?

Regularly _____ Occasionally _____ Seldom _____ Never _____

Of what lodges, clubs, and other community organizations are you a member?

	Name	Check if active	Present Office
1.		_____	
2.		_____	
3.		_____	
4.		_____	

(Over)

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LORAIN CHURCH STUDY

April, 1950

What is your occupation? _____

Your husband's or wife's occupation? _____

How many children do you have? _____ Your age? _____

What church did your family attend? _____

If not Congregational, when did you join the Congregational? _____

Reasons for joining: (Check one or more.)

In neighborhood _____ Church doctrine _____

Husband's or wife's church _____ Friends in church _____

Liked minister _____

Other: _____

Do your children and your husband or wife attend this church? Yes _____
No _____

If not, where? _____

Of what groups in the church are you a member? _____ _____;

_____; _____.

How often do you attend church?

Weekly _____ Twice monthly _____ Once monthly _____

Seldom _____ Never _____

How often do you attend group meetings?

Regularly _____ Occasionally _____ Seldom _____ Never _____

Of what lodges, clubs, and other community organizations are you a member?

	Name	Check if active	Present Office
1.		_____	
2.		_____	
3.		_____	
4.		_____	

Oberlin College
Oberlin, Ohio
April 1, 1950

Dear

As part of my graduate work at Oberlin College this year, I am doing a study on your church in Lorain. The purpose of my study is to determine, as nearly as I can, the functions of a city church as seen through the eyes of its members.

I am therefore sending the enclosed questionnaire(s) to you and asking that you help me in my study of your church by answering the questions I have included. I have already talked with your minister about the church, and I have also asked many of these same questions of a small group of your membership in personal interviews. By the questionnaire, I hope to get your opinions in regard to these various questions in order to have a more complete picture of the make-up of your church.

Your contribution to my work will be greatly appreciated. As you know, in any large group of people, the opinions of each person are important and must be considered in order to reach an understanding of the group as a whole. Therefore the results of this questionnaire will be very important to me in my attempt to understand your church and its functions.

Sincerely yours,

Lois Chambers

- I certainly will appreciate your help.

Appendix E

TABULATION OF DATA AND STATISTICAL TREATMENT OF DATA

I. Data appearing on page one of the interview schedules and questionnaires:

Items	Presbyterian Inter-views	Presbyterian Question-naires	Congregational Inter-views	Congregational Question-naires
1. Raised in Church	10	25	19	21
2. Raised in other church	16	10	26	37
3. No family church	1	1	2	1
4. Joined in neighborhood	5	5	6	15
5. Doctrine	0	5	2	13
6. Husband's or wife's church	5	4	12	11
7. Friends in church	5	4	6	15
8. Minister	0	4	0	11
9. Other	2	0	2	2
10. Member of one church group	14	17	10	18
11. Member of two or more	6	6	19	15
12. Attend weekly	11	22	8	15
13. Attend twice monthly	7	6	5	11
14. Attend once monthly	1	1	2	5
15. Attend seldom	7	6	17	21
16. Attend never	1	0	15	0

Items	Presbyterian Inter-views	Presbyterian Question-naires	Congregational Inter-views	Congregational Question-naires
17. Attend groups regularly	5	7	8	13
18. Occasionally	0	16	3	22
19. Seldom	15	6	5	5
20. Never	7	5	32	13
21. Belong to one non-church group	10	10	10	12
22. Two groups	5	9	7	6
23. Three groups	2	5	9	8
24. Four groups	3	2	3	11
25. More than four groups	3	2	10	6

II. Tabulation of Answers to Questions on page two of Interview Schedules and Questionnaires:

Items	Presbyterian Inter-views	Presbyterian Question-naires	Congregational Inter-views	Congregational Question-naires
1. Support of church stands on economic issues	5	7	6	20
2. No economic stands	10	23	35	31
3. No opinion	6	10	6	8
4. Support of church stands on politics	5	5	6	21
5. No political stands	15	22	35	29

Items	Presbyterian Inter-views	Presbyterian Question-naires	Congregational Inter-views	Congregational Question-naires
6. No opinion on political stands	2	11	6	9
7. Support of church stands on community social problems	10	34	15	57
8. No stands on social problems	8	0	25	0
9. No opinion	5	3	7	2
10. Support of church stands on inter-national relations	15	11	11	34
11. No church stands on inter-national re-lations	5	13	30	17
12. No opinion	4	12	6	8
13. Action on all issues	2	3	4	8
14. Action on some	6	6	27	5
15. No opinion	11	13	8	33
16. Action on economics	1	1	0	0
17. Action on politics	0	0	0	1
18. Action on social problems	5	12	8	24
19. Action on inter-nat'l relations	4	4	2	7
20. Both types ser-mons	15	28	48	28

Items	Presbyterian Inter-views	Presbyterian Question-naires	Congregational Inter-views	Congregational Question-naires
21. Only Bible sermons	8	6	18	16
22. Only social sermons	0	0	1	1
23. No opinion on sermons	1	1	1	2

III. Tabulation of Reasons for Attending Church:

Reason	Presbyterian Inter-views	Presbyterian Question-naires	Congregational Inter-views	Congregational Question-naires
1. Lasting peace	0	1	0	0
2. Good example	6	5	14	5
3. Improvement of community	2	0	4	3
4. Support minister and staff	2	0	3	6
5. Religious teaching needed	4	9	12	10
6. Confidence and security	11	13	11	22
7. Good people met	3	2	11	3
8. Religion never hurt anyone	1	2	2	2
9. God's will	1	1	1	3
10. Church stands for good	0	0	8	0

IV. Tabulations used for correlations:

A. Method used and Attitude:

Interview responses, non-socio-religious	46
Interview responses, socio-religious	12
Questionnaire responses, non-socio-religious	49
Questionnaire responses, socio-religious	30

B. Sex and Reasons for Attending:

Male, reason 6	7
Male, reasons other than six	30
Female, reason 6	50
Female, reasons other than 6	37

C. Leadership:

	Cong.	Presb.
Leader in church and out	19	6
Leader in church, not out	2	4
Leader out, not in church	17	10
Not leader	67	43

D. Church and Attitudes:

Presbyterian, non-socio-religious	32
Presbyterian, socio-religious	14
Congregational, non-socio-religious	63
Congregational, socio-religious	28

E. Sex and Attitudes:

Female, socio-religious	23
Female, non-socio-religious	69
Male, socio-religious	21
Male, non-socio-religious	31

F. Occupation and Attitudes:

Professional or managerial, socio-religious	20
Professional or managerial, not	50
Other, socio-religious	19
Other, not	41

G. Age and Attitudes:

Over 45, socio-religious	19
Over 45, not	38
45 and under, socio-religious	21
45 and under, not	64

V. Correlations:

A. Method Used and Attitude:

(The formula, $r_4 = \frac{Nd - ann_1}{\sqrt{n_1 n_2 (an_1 n)}}$ was used in all these calculations. For the standard error of r, the formula, $\sigma_r = \frac{1 - r^2}{\sqrt{N}}$ was used.)

r_4= -.19 ; standard error, .08, between using questionnaire method and obtaining socio-religious responses.

B. Sex and Reasons for Attending:

r_4=.35; standard error, .08, for both churches, interviews and questionnaires, between being female and listing reason six.

Presbyterian interviews: r_4= .17; standard error .22

Presbyterian questionnaires: r_4= .33; standard error, .19.

Congregational interviews: r_4= .23, standard error .14.

Congregational questionnaires: r_4= .53; standard error, .12.

C. Leadership:

Congregational: r_4 = .59; standard error, .06, between being a church leader and a community leader.

Presbyterian: r_4= .35; standard error, .12.

D. Church and Attitudes:

r_4 =-.003; standard error, .09, for being Presbyterian and holding socio-religious attitudes.

r_4 = -.14; standard error,.11, when only questionnaire data were used.

r_4 = .21; standard error, .13, when only interview data were used.

E. Sex and Attitudes:

r_4 = -.16; standard error, .08, between being male and holding socio-religious attitudes.

For Congregational questionnaires, $r_4 = -.039$, standard error, .13.

For Congregational interviews, $r_4 = -.40$, standard error, .13.

For Presbyterian questionnaires, $r_4 = .05$, standard error, .18.

For Presbyterian interviews, $r_4 = -.50$; standard error, .18.

F. Occupation and Attitudes:

$r_4 = -.03$; standard error, .09, between being in a professional or managerial job and holding socio-religious attitudes.

For Congregational questionnaires, $r_4 = -.09$, standard error, .14.

For Congregational interviews, $r_4 = .36$, standard error, .14.

For Presbyterian questionnaires, $r_4 = -.24$; standard error, .19.

For Presbyterian interviews, $r_4 = -.37$; standard error, .21.

G. Age and Attitudes:

$r_4 = .09$; standard error, .08, between being over 45 and holding socio-religious attitudes.

For Congregational questionnaires, $r_4 = .12$, standard error, .13.

For Congregational interviews, $r_4 = .04$; standard error, .16.

For Presbyterian questionnaires, $r_4 = -.11$, standard error, .19.

For Presbyterian interviews, $r_4 = .24$; standard error, .22.

In all these correlations, the correlation for all the data for both churches is given first. The correlations following are for relationships as stated in the first correlation.

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